

THE COMINFORM: SEPTEMBER 1947 - APRIL 1948Prefatory Note

The establishment of the Communist Information Bureau in September 1947 was an event of major political importance, both from the point of view of the broad strategy of Soviet international policy in the postwar period and from the narrower point of view of the organization of international Communism. Both these aspects of the Cominform are closely linked, but the purpose of the present paper is to clarify the technical organizational side of the problem and to remove some of the confusion and misunderstanding characterizing a large proportion of the intelligence reports that have been received thus far on one or the other aspects of the Cominform.

The following general considerations should be kept in mind in evaluating intelligence coverage on the organization and activities of the Cominform:

(a) The large proportion of reports received from informants (directly, or through friendly police or security services) on non-public aspects of the Cominform have been, and will continue to be, necessarily based on opinion, guesswork, creative imagination and rumor. They range from nonsensical generalities to highly plausible specific statements of purported fact. However specific they may be, if statements made are not supported by precise factual evidence that can be independently confirmed, they cannot be considered as possessing adequate reliability. Not a single confirmed report on the clandestine co-ordination or action aspects of the Cominform has been received thus far either by [redacted] 25X1X7

(b) Any international Communist or Communist-front organization is automatically charged by a wide variety of sources (from professional anti-Soviet paper-mills to jittery police, security, and government officials) with highly "secret" participation in espionage, sabotage, and revolutionary activities. The problem is actually not quite so simple.

(c) Almost virtual ignorance of the actual clandestine methods employed by the Communist movement now, and for the past thirty years, combined with fear of the unknown, promotes the production of innumerable myths, scare-reports, and provocations. The late International Brigade intelligence fiasco should be a warning to personnel concerned with information on the Cominform: a steady stream of hundreds of reports from March to November

1947 from all countries in Europe, plus Latin America and Asia, described the recruitment, training and movement of "international brigades" for aiding the Greek guerrillas. In 1946 an almost equal volume of "intelligence" concentrated on proving the existence of "international brigades" in southern France to assist an anti-Franco putsch in Spain. It is now generally accepted that both series of "brigades" were notional.

The basic conclusions of importance which are drawn in the present paper on the basis of all the available evidence are primarily negative and cautionary:

- (a) The activities of the Cominform organization itself have thus far been confined to the preparation and publication of a biweekly journal.
- (b) No Cominform headquarters other than the Belgrade bureau exists or is in process of being established.
- (c) The Belgrade Cominform is not a revived "Comintern" and, whatever additional parties may affiliate, will most likely never be developed into an international working organization at all similar to the old Comintern.
- (d) A great deal of international Communist organizational activity will continue to be frequently misinterpreted and labeled with the convenient tag of the "Cominform".

Establishment of the Cominform

On 5 October 1947, a statement was published in Pravda and broadcast from Moscow announcing that an information bureau was to be set up in Belgrade to co-ordinate the activities of the Communist Parties of nine European countries, representatives of which had attended a recent conference in Poland. They were:

Andrei Aleksandrovich ZHDANOV Soviet Union
Georgi Maksimilianovich MALENKOV

Edward KARDELJ Yugoslavia
Milovan DJILAS

Vulko CHERVENKOV Bulgaria
Vladimir POPTOMOV

Anna Maria PAUKER Rumania
George GHEORGHIU-DEJ

Dr. Michael FARKAS Hungary
Josef REVAI

Wladyslaw GOMULKA @ WIESLAW Poland
Hilary MINC

Jacques DUCLOS France
Etienne FAJON

Luigi LONGO @ Luigi GALLO Italy
Eugenio REALE

Rudolf SLANSKI Czechoslovakia
Stefan DASHKOVANSKI

At the meeting, a report on the international situation was made by ZHDANO and the representatives resolved that an information bureau be set up in Belgrade. The conference issued a declaration and a resolution:

The Declaration asserts that the Allied states which formed one camp during the war have, because of the imperialist aims of the USA and Great Britain, split into two camps: one imperialist and anti-democratic and the other anti-imperial and democratic. The imperialist camp led by the USA is, in a situation marked an aggravation of the crisis of capitalism, pursuing an aggressive policy of which the Truman-Marshall plan is the European component. The imperialists use a diversified arsenal of tactical weapons, violence, blackmail, pressure, etc., to avail themselves of the treacherous policy of right-wing Socialists. The anti-imperialist democratic camp must therefore close its ranks, draw up an agreed program of action, and work out its own tactics. To frustrate the plan of imperialist aggression the efforts of all the democratic anti-imperialist forces of Europe are necessary. The Communist Parties must take into their hands the banner of defense of national independence and sovereignty of their countries. The Communist Parties must take the lead in resisting the plans of imperialist expansion in all spheres--state, political, economic and ideological.

Whatever this may mean, it is intended to apply to at least all the Communist Parties of Europe: it is not specifically limited to the nine parties, it does not mention the Cominform, and it appears as a general call to resist with greater intensity the plans of the USA and its friends. It is a broad directive on policy, comparable to the prewar resolution of the Executive Committee or World Congress of the Third International or to a speech by Molotov or Vyshinsky.

The Resolution states that the absence of contacts among the Communist Parties participating at this conference is a serious shortcoming. The conference has therefore agreed to set up an information bureau in Belgrade consisting of representatives of the nine parties and to charge the bureau with the organization of the interchange of experience and, if need be, co-ordination of the activities of the Communist Parties on the basis of mutual agreement. The bureau is to consist of two representatives from each Central Committee, and is to publish an official press organ.

Whether or not this is deliberately misleading, it is at least a specific statement to the effect that the Cominform is restricted to the nine parties and that it has the dual function of: (a) organizing the interchange of experience;

and (b) co-ordination, if need be, of the activities of the Communist Parties. The resolution is concerned therefore with organization.

Interchange of Experience

The organization of the "interchange of experience" is clearly a function distinct from "co-ordination". A passage of the editorial in the first number of the Cominform journal, For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!, states that the journal sets itself the task "to further elaborate questions of the great and invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism, the concrete application of this theory and its theses by the Communist Parties in conditions of the given country." This implies the collection of information about "conditions in the given country" and the use of such information in working out tactics. The "information," "intelligence" and "theoretical" functions of the Cominform, if they are to be done properly, clearly require a permanent staff and an information service. The known facts on the actual organization of the "interchange of experience", however, are rather slim at the moment, and they pertain to the existence of the Cominform journal on the one hand, and to information-collecting activities carried out by various Communist parties on the other.

(a) Cominform Press

The Cominform journal bears the title For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy! with the subtitle "Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, Belgrade" and with the slogan "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" It is edited and published in Belgrade at Ulitsa Iovana Risticha No. 21.

The first number of this journal was published on 10 November 1947 and subsequent issues have appeared on the 1st and 15th days of the month. English, French and Russian editions have been published and it is intended that others shall be produced.

Most of the space of the first three numbers of the journal was devoted to reprints of the reports made by the delegates to the meeting held in Poland in September 1947, but there have been also a number of political articles, some of which contained personal attacks on Mr. Bevin and M. Blum, and reports of various national Communist Party congresses.

The most important items, apart from the reprint of ZHDANOV's speech, have been the lead articles which consistently play on the themes announced in the September Resolution. All have been on the central theme

that the Communist Parties, which recognize that "the efforts of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces of Europe are needed in order to disrupt the plan of imperialist aggression," are the genuine champions of the unity of the working class and of all democratic forces. The Communist Parties in all countries recognize that it is the historic task of the Communists to lead the resistance to the American plan to enslave Europe, to expose bold all the accomplices of American imperialism, and to secure the unity of the working class. The leading article of the second number, "The Warmongers refuse to quieten down," states that the Communist Parties will continue to direct the struggle of all the democratic and patriotic forces to combat the criminal designs of the warmongers--the American imperialists, their British French, Italian and other vassals, and their Socialist lackeys. The editorial to the third number opens with these words: "Major changes have come to pass in international political life since the Declaration of the Nine Communist Parties was first published. The forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp have grown politically, ideologically and organisationally in the ever-sharpening conflict of the two opposing camps --the imperialists and anti-imperialists. The resistance of the peoples of Europe to the plans of US expansion is mounting daily."

The fourth number, in an editorial entitled "Towards New Victories of the Democratic Camp!" summarized the trends of 1947:

"The year 1947 was distinguished by important events in the lives of the peoples of the world. The imperialist camp continued on a broad front its preparations for a new war; American imperialism still further intensified its active expansionist policy to enslave Western Europe economically and politically...."

"The centre of world reaction shifted to the USA. The Hitler plans to enslave the world, which suffered a fiasco, are now replaced by American plans for world domination, in the carrying out of which Britain has been assigned the role of junior partner...."

"The democratic forces of the world, and above all, the peoples of Europe, rose up in defence of their national independence and sovereignty, in defence of the interests of the working people, and against the rapacious ambitions of American imperialism...."

"The Declaration of the Conference of nine Communist Parties held in Poland at the end of September 1947 played a decisive role in the upsurge of the struggle of the democratic forces."

The leading article of the fifth number dealt with the "Unity of the Working Class" and claimed that the Communist Parties, "equipped with the Declaration of the September Conference held in Poland," were waging a stubborn and courageous struggle against the splitting intrigues of the imperialists who hoped thus to weaken the democratic camp, and had won new

successes in the drive to unite the working class. As successes, the writer claimed the united action of Communist and Socialist parties in Italy, the united front of workers' parties in Rumania, the December Congress of the Polish Socialist Party (which favored consolidation with the Polish Workers' Party), and the complete unity of the working class in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

There can be little doubt that these leading articles have been accepted by Communists generally as Moscow-inspired directives. The USSR's responsibility is now made clear by the appointment of YUDIN as editor-in-chief of the journal. He is a member of the editorial board of the Bolshevik, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and was one of the representatives of that party at the Sixth National Congress of the Italian Communist Party held in Milan during the early part of January 1948.

On 1 February 1948 For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy! announced that the bureau had held its first meeting in the middle of January and had decided to organize a permanent editorial board composed of representatives of the nine Communist parties:

* DIRO, Z. (probably KAROLY)	Hungary
* VODA-PEKSA, B.	Czechoslovakia
* GRIGORYAN, Vagan	USSR
* YUDIN, Pavel	USSR
SHUMILOV, N. (Editor, Leningrad, Pravda, 1944)	USSR
**HALACHEV, N.	Bulgaria
**GORSICH, M.	Yugoslavia
* ZIHERL, Boris	Yugoslavia
* PAJETTA, D. (probably GIANCARLO)	Italy
* HENTGES, Pierre	France
* FINKELSTEIN, J.	Poland
**BUIKAN, A.	Unidentified

(b) Collection of Information

While the "interchange of experience" may proceed from Belgrade, at least partially through the overt channels of the Cominform journal to other Communist parties, there are indications that the Cominform is to be a central collection point for "information" to be collected by those European Communist parties which "adhere to," "have liaison with," or are "in sympathy with" the Cominform, whether or not they take part in its

* For biographical data see below.

** No biographical data available.

executive deliberations. It is too early to tell whether these information collecting activities amount to the organization of a special Cominform "intelligence" network. At present, we definitely assume that various field reports claiming the existence of a vast Cominform espionage system (viz. [redacted] describing every former UDD agent as a Cominform agent) have no basis in fact. Currently, it would appear that the Cominfo is merely utilizing available party assets for its informational ends. In this connection a report has been received of a statement by Milovan DJILAS of the Yugoslav Communist Party that among the principal aims of the Cominform are: (1) detailed examination of the political and economic situation every nation participating in the Cominform; (2) the examination of the American and British economic and political situation; (3) the examination of the exchange of heavy industrial goods between all countries and Britain and the USA. In addition, the Austrian, Belgian, Danish, French, German and Greek parties have been reported as providing information for Belgrade. The Austrian party is to send fortnightly political and industrial reports. The Belgians are to transmit information to the Cominform on anti-Communism and especially on those who propagate a war against the USSR. The Levant parties were requested to make a special survey of Communist activity in the Middle East for the Cominform. The Germans are to note and report events in the Western Zones indicating preparations for war. The Greeks have appointed a reporting committee and are setting up, in addition, an independent intelligence organization to collect material, from sources already available to the party and presumably from newly activated agents, on political and military matters, on foreign Missions and on the Diplomatic Corps. In France La Vie du Parti charged the "Comité de Défense de la République" with the task of "searching out concrete forms of American expansionism" mainly in the economic sphere.

Such information will doubtless enable the Cominform leaders to prepare "analyses of the international situation" similar to those periodic issued by the Comintern during the inter-war years; but it will presumably also be used in the Cominform journal and in the local party papers. The technique of "exposing" political opponents has long been a favorite with the Communists. It has been used in various forms since the early days of the Russian Social Democrats and had LENIN's powerful support. The

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editorial of the third number of the Cominform periodical, commenting on events since the creation of the Cominform, says, "the Communist Parties have opened the eyes of the popular masses to the real state of affairs, have relentlessly begun to expose the predatory plans of the American imperialists, the instigators of a new war." This seems to throw light on the object of the new drive for information, the object of the "interchange of experience" and therefore on one of the objects of the Cominform in its "informative" or "intelligence" capacity.

Co-ordination of Action

(a) Potential scope

At this stage of our investigation of the Cominform, it must be emphasized that there is no adequate information about the "executive," "deliberative" or "co-ordinating" function of this agency. It is not yet known at what level or in what respect, or if at all, the Cominform itself is co-ordinating the day-to-day activities of Communist Parties in the sphere of policy. A recent report suggests that the representatives of the "Cominform Parties," present as fraternal delegates at the Sixth Congress of the Italian Communist Party in Milan, January 1948, hold a separate Cominform meeting. It may be that we shall not always find "executive" meetings occurring in Belgrade. "Co-ordination of activities of the Communist Parties" (the natural question arises, 'Which Parties?') need not however necessarily be confined to political co-ordination. It may well include, or even be confined to, administrative matters--the collection of funds, the organization of travel, courier lines, etc. Such work, of course, could be undertaken by the lesser lights of the national parties sitting as representatives in Belgrade.

Representatives of the constituent parties to a Cominform meeting in mid-January 1948 were announced as set out below, but, from the text of the announcement it is not clear whether those representatives are "permanent" or merely "delegated" to attend the meeting. Some of them were appointed members of the "permanent editorial board," and, presumably, will sit as such in Belgrade.

USSR

YUDIN, Pavel Fedorovich (Professor)

Born 7 September 1899 in Gorky oblast. Graduate in history and philosophy, Moscow University. Corresponding member, USSR

Academy of Sciences, 1939; Stalin Prize Laureate, 1945; Vice President, International Organization of Journalists. Has published works in theory of historical materialism and numerous articles in Soviet press on philosophical problems. In February 1947 appointed editor of Trud, probably relieved in October 1947. Attended Italian Communist Party Congress in Milan, January 1948. Considered one of the most prominent theoreticians in the Soviet Union, he is reported to be a specialist in questions of social science and ideology. Also one of first postwar proponents of reversion of Soviet propaganda to prewar Marxist ideology. Currently on editorial board of Moscow Polshevik and professor of philosophy at University of Moscow. Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.
GRIGORYAN, Vagan Grigorievich (Professor)

Professor of History at Moscow University. Graduate in history of Moscow University. Received Order of Lenin in 1944. Editor of Zarya Vostoka organ of Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Chief of Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of All-Union Central Committee, appointed 12 January 1947. Attended Italian Communist Party Congress at Milan, January 1948. Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.

France

LECOEUR, Auguste

Veteran Communist, trade union militant. In January 1945, appointed to organizational department of Central Committee, CP/France
HENTGES, Pierre

Represented French party at the Socialist Unity Party Congress in Berlin September 1947; member of Thorez' "Cabinet" when Thorez was member of Council of Ministers. Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.

Czechoslovakia

VODA-PEKSA, D.

Unidentified. Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.
GEMINDER-VLATAVSKY, D.

Confidential secretary of Rudolf SLANSKY, Secretary General/CP Czechoslovakia. Contributor to Rudo Pravo, party press organ.

Italy

ROSSI, D. (probably Giuseppe):

Born 1904, cement worker by trade, joined Party 1926; 1934-37 inspector of party direction in Italy; underground leader during illegal period; member of CC/Directorate.

PAJETTA, D. (probably Giancarlo).

Born in Turin 1911; now resident of Milan; director of Unita' 1931, went to France; sent to school in Moscow; former executive secretary of International of Communist Youth; 3 March 1948, in Belgrade to discuss return of Trieste to Italy. Member of CC/Directorate. Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.

Yugoslavia

GOSNJAK, Col. Gen. Ivan

Born 1909 at Ogulin, Lika, Croatia; educated at Pakrac, Croatia member of International Brigade, fought with Loyalist Army in Spanish Civil War, holding rank of Captain, was wounded and later interned in southern France; returned to Yugoslavia July 1942, where appointed Deputy Commander at Great Headquarters, promoted Lt. General May 1943, and to Col. General December 1947; member Politburo, CP Yugoslavia; at present Second Vice-President of Federation of the Veterans of the War of National Liberation (October 1947), Assistant Minister of National Defense, Chief of Personnel on the General Staff, and Political Inspector of the Army.

ZHERL, Boris.

Early associated with Partisan movement in Slovenia, having served as Deputy Director of the Slovene Partisan Scientific Institute (January 1944); member of the Legislative Committee of the Slovene National Council and head of its Department of Education (February 1944); president of Yugoslavia-USSR Cultural Relations Society; member of Central Committee of CP Yugoslavia; president of Committee for Schools and Science attached to the Government of FPRY; prior to his selection as a member of the permanent Editorial Board of the Cominform journal in January 1948 he had already contributed to this publication an article "The

Triumph of Genuine Democracy; Regarding the Solution of the National Question in Yugoslavia," which appeared in the third issue of For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy! Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.

Bulgaria

POPTOMOV, Vladimir

Member of Politburo (March 1947).

Rumania

CHISHINEVSKY, Josif

Member Central Committee; chief of Central Secretariat for political education.

RAUTU, L.

Member of the steering committee of the Society for the Support of the Struggle of the Greek People.

Hungary

HORVATH, Martan

Member of Parliament; close friend of DUCLOS; responsible editor of Communist newspaper Szabad-Nep; chief propagandist of CP Hungary.

FIRO, Z. (probably KAROLY).

Central Committee, CP Hungary. Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.

Poland

KLISZKO, Zenon

Born 8 December 1908 in Lodz, Poland. Graduate in law, University of Warsaw, 1933. In 1933 appointed editor of Kronika, a workers' paper. From 1933-35 imprisoned for revolutionary activities. 1939-42 organized monitoring of foreign radio broadcasts. One of the organizers of the Polish Workers Party in 1942. 1942-44 co-editor of underground publications in Warsaw. Co-founder and later deputy of the National Council of the Homeland. Participated in the Warsaw uprising and was promoted to Colonel. Received Grunwald Cross, 1945. PPR deputy, member of Central

Committee and State Electoral Commission. In 1947, Chairman of the PPR Parliamentary Deputies Club and deputy chairman of Sojm Legal Committee.

FINKELSTEIN, J.

Born ca. 1893. In 1921, was an official in the Ministry of Labor, Warsaw, and was imprisoned for subversive activities in Poland. In 1922, escaped to USSR and was employed as an expert on Poland in the Soviet Administration. Returned to Poland in 1945 and is characterized as an intelligent, very capable Communist. It is not known whether he holds any official position at present.

Permanent Editorial Board of Cominform.

(b) Co-ordination in Europe.

Party actions in Europe which apparently stemmed from Cominform direction are confined to the results of the founding September conference. The declaration has clearly had its effect on Communist propaganda, which has grown more violent and more specifically anti-American since its publication. In conformity with the tone and spirit of the declaration, several European party leaders have confessed to opportunism and errors of judgment in their past tactics. The French, Belgian, British and Italian leaders have all--to greater or less degree--done so. The first, the most complete and the most significant of these confessions was made to the Central Committee of the French Party by M. THOREZ on 29 October 1947. The sequence of events in France according to available information was as follows:

CC/CP France decided on 12-13 September 1947 not to call a general strike unless a Fascist putsch or "other major political situation" threatened. The party's policy was to stand officially for increased production.

At the September conference in Poland, according to a highly placed source of unknown reliability, Jacques DUCLOS opposed a new policy but was overruled by ZHDANOV.

5-7 October: Publication of the declaration and resolution of the nine parties.

29 October: THOREZ confesses to "error of judgment" to CC/CP France.

November-December: Although the strikes apparently were designed to develop into a general strike, no general strike was called for by the party, nor was the term used in published Communist strike propaganda.

This sequence suggests strongly that the decision to attempt big strikes in France was taken at the conference. But the actual tactics employed showed a degree of subtlety and caution which is remarkable in view of the fire-eating propaganda which is now the usual Communist stock in trade. During the French strikes, despite their obviously vital nature, discretion was by no means thrown to the winds.

Although the strikes, demonstrations and riots which occurred in Italy simultaneously with those in France had the appearance of being co-ordinated with them, they were not developed into anything of a decisive nature, and appeared rather as a demonstration of CP Italy's capacity to use the CGIL (General Confederation of Italian Labor). TOGLIATTI, in the course of several speeches since the September conference, has made veiled and menacing references to direct action, but he has been careful not to give the impression that "legal" tactics are being abandoned and has specifically rejected the idea that failure in the parliamentary sphere necessarily involves recourse to revolution.

We definitely have no information to prove that the Cominform has sat as an executive, deliberative or co-ordinating body since the conference in Poland. We have nothing to show that as such a body it co-ordinated or directed the French strikes and the contemporaneous Italian demonstrations. There may be a presumption in favor of its existence but there is no proof of it. Certainly the Executive of the Comintern did not supervise the day-to-day activities of a party engaged in putting into practice one of its general directives, and the responsibility for carrying these out rested mainly with the party leaders concerned who would eventually be called upon to answer for their actions. If, therefore, the conference in Poland does prove to have been the first meeting of the Cominform as an executive body, we should expect the French and possibly the Italian leaders to report later to another meeting of a similar kind. That meeting might perhaps have occurred at the Sixth Congress of CP Italy in January 1948, or in mid-January at Belgrade.

The above sequence of events and the statements made in the Cominform journal give us reasonable grounds for supposing that the French and Italian parties were given instructions at the conference to undertake modified and camouflaged "direct action" in their respective countries. The subsequent acceleration of the Communization of Rumania and Czechoslovakia may also have been inspired by decisions at the conference. The Rumanian and Czechoslovak parties were of course "officially" represented at it. Apart from these instances there are no very clear indications of the effect of the conference on the tactics of Northern and Western European Communist Parties as distinct from their propaganda and pronouncements.

Organization of the Cominform.

The problem of Cominform organization obviously entails considerations of the structural breakdown of the headquarters staff, of the overt and covert relations and affiliations of other than the nine founding Communist parties, and of special communication machinery. Insofar as headquarters organization is concerned, there is no valid information to go by.

Several selected reports from "secret sources" and from imaginative journalists will illustrate the type of unfounded rumor currently circulating on the "clandestine" organization of the Cominform. Separate sections have been reported dealing with Army, Propaganda, Colonial, and Youth affairs, and staffed by such appropriate personnel as Ilya Ehrenburg, former Ambassador to the US Novikov, Guy de Boisson, etc. More elaborate fabrications have added sections for Information and Documentation, Nationalities, Trade Unions, Finances, Administration. A document purporting to contain the minutes of a secret meeting at the Polish conference describes a special committee (Defense Active des Partis Communistes Italians et Francais) independently co-ordinating the revolutionary activities of the French and Italian parties under the direct jurisdiction of the Politburo/CPSU. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that such easily manufactured T/O's need not be taken very seriously unless backed up with concrete evidence.

(a) Affiliated Parties and Communications in Europe.

DUCLOS announced on 27 October 1947 that:

"The conference of Poland took a decision concerning conditions in which the Information Bureau, sitting at Belgrade, should be constituted, and should function. This decision obviously engages the parties which, after consideration, adopted it unanimously. As for the Communist parties which were not represented at this conference, they have, of course, the possibility to make any intervention that they judge

necessary to the Bureau of Information, both concerning eventual coordination of such-and-such an action on the basis of full agreement, and in connection with a request for admission to the Bureau of Information."

Thus far, only the CP of the Free Territory of Trieste has publicly announced its adherence to the Cominform (19 October 1947), and CP Albania has announced its decision to adhere to the Cominform "in due course of time." There is no adequate evidence to indicate that any other European parties have secretly affiliated with the Cominform. According to press reports, CP Holland has "decided to join" the Cominform, and a senior member of CP Belgium reportedly was present at the first Cominform meeting and announced the adherence of his party. Additional reports and rumors on the Cominform affiliation of other parties all over the world should, for the time being, be reviewed critically.

An extensive series of reports from all types of sources have, for the past five months, reported the existence of direct relations between various other parties and the Cominform. The available information from the more reliable of these sources and a tentative evaluation thereof is summarized below:

Austria

FURNBERG and HONNER were reported to have visited Belgrade to discuss CP Austria's relations with the Cominform. They are said to have arranged for a secret liaison and to have undertaken to prepare a fortnightly political and industrial report for Belgrade. A close confidant of KOPLENIG is reported as saying that there were no Austrian participants at the conference in Poland, and that no definite decision had been taken regarding CP Austria's participation in the Cominform. KOPLENIG is reported as saying on 18 November 1947 that the CP Austria would not be represented at the next Cominform meeting since official participation would only increase anti-Communism in Austria. This latter point was emphasized at a meeting of the Central Committee on 1 December 1947.

However, at a meeting of KOPLENIG and ZUCKER-SCHILLING with RAKOSI in Budapest on 20-21 December 1947, RAKOSI agreed that CP Hungary should represent CP Austria at all Cominform meetings. This meeting was reportedly attended by an unidentified Cominform functionary who expressed his dissatisfaction with the way in which CP Austria conducted its anti-Marshall

Plan campaign. The Austrians were also instructed to draw up for the Cominform an appreciation of the probable effect of its open affiliation with the Cominform.

It was furthermore alleged that at the time of the December meeting in Budapest, Cominform directives were given to the Austrians according to which CP Austria organized a committee in support of the Greek Communists, consisting of HONNER, DUERMAYER, Franz STRODL, Franz MIREK, TRENKLER and Franz PLIESSEIS.

Belgium

Edgar LALMAND is reported to have returned from Warsaw, having given the "formal adhesion" of the CP Belgium to the Cominform and having been told that he would receive instructions from CP France. Recently, CP Belgium introduced a "Ten Man Group System" into its organization by which a party functionary is responsible for a "group of ten members." As this system is in force in CP Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the suspicion arises that the Cominform took a hand in the organizational problems of CP Belgium.

Denmark

A "Cominform information section" under Alfred JENSEN and Carl MADSEN has purportedly been set up in the "Land og Folk" building, Copenhagen.

Germany

It appears that no German representative was present at the meeting in Poland. FRITSCHE, Chief of Press Information Service of the Central Administration for People's Education is reported as saying that the Socialist Unity Party (SED) had been in contact with the Cominform, but that the party would deny any public rumors to this effect. Otto BUCHWITZ, First Chairman of the SED for Land Saxony is reported as saying that the Cominform as a creation of the Eastern States had nothing to do with the SED. Wilhelm PIECK, Communist leader of the SED, issued a directive on 12 November 1947, in which he said that the German Communists were not officially represented in the Cominform so as to allay the suspicions of their enemies, but that they were in open sympathy with it. He further directed Communist members and sympathizers to defend the USSR against calumny, to note and report all preparations for war in the Western Zones, and to oppose and sabotage anti-Communist institutions.

In December 1947, however, correspondence between CP Germany District headquarters WESER-EMS (Bremen) and Land Headquarters HANNOVER was inter-

copted indicating that at the direction of the SED Central Committee, Berlin, the following individuals were designated as "Cominform representatives": Reinhold POPAL, Willy MEYER-BUER, Willi DRANDT and Rudolph RAFOTH. Furthermore, Bezirksleitung Weser-Ems was reported as planning to furnish these subjects with radio equipment. It is not clear at present what the term "Cominform representatives" means in this context, and it is possible that the individuals mentioned may play a part in a clandestine Cominform communication machine. In this connection it should also be mentioned that STADLER chief of the personnel department of the KPD in Bavaria was reported in November 1947 as the liaison officer with the Cominform.

Greece

CP Greece (KKE) is reported to have declared its adherence to the Cominform, to have appointed delegates to represent the party at forthcoming meetings, and to have established a permanent committee attached to the Cominform which is intended to pass information to and from that body. In addition, an intelligence organization composed of Communists but independent of the party machine is reported to be in the process of formation, with the function of collecting political, military, and diplomatic information for the Cominform.

Spain

Col. Enrique LISTER, member of the CC of the CP/Spain in exile in France, was reported to have left in January 1948 for Belgrade where it was believed he would assume the function of a liaison officer between the Spanish Communist Party and the Cominform.

(b) The Cominform outside of Europe.

Numerous rumors, allegations, and highly questionable intelligence reports to the contrary, no other regional organizations of the Cominform type are believed to exist today:

Latin America

Various reports have referred to alleged meetings of LA Communist leaders in Mexico, Uruguay or Cuba for the purpose of setting up a "Latin American Cominform," but no evidence is obtainable to confirm that such meetings were actually held. A report from Cuba alleged that "two headquarters of a new Cominform for Latin America" would be established in Montevideo and Havana respectively by March 1948, and that a committee to

establish those Cominform offices would arrive in Cuba under the cover of a delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Nothing so far has come from these predictions, and it is believed that the source of these statements simply expanded his knowledge of the fact that a WFDY delegation is presently touring LA with a Cominform tie-up. Rumors to the effect that a Latin-American Cominform is to be established in Mexico City have been persistent locally and are believed to have come from France via the Spanish Communist grapevino, without, however, any basis in fact.

More recently, it was alleged that the Argentine Communist leader Rhodolfo GHIOLDI had brought instructions from the Cominform upon his return from Europe. However, nothing specific has happened so far, except statements of GHIOLDI to the effect that the final stage of the class struggle has arrived, and that the Lenin School in Moscow is going to reopen its courses for Latin-American Communists. In connection with GHIOLDI's presence in Europe in the winter of 1947-48 which coincided with the European travel of Jose Antonio ARZE, leader of Partido Izquierda Revolucionario (PIR) of Bolivia, and Eugenio GOMEZ, Secretary General of CP Uruguay, reports were received claiming that a meeting of Latin-American Communists in Belgrade was scheduled to take place, but no supporting evidence has been received.

Middle East

Prior to the suppression of the Lebanese and Syrian Communist Parties, Khalid MAGDASH, chairman of the CP Syria and Mustafa ARIS, president of the Lebanese Federation of Labor Unions, were reported as "Cominform delegates" for the Middle East, and as having proposed to form a Central Secretariat of Middle East Communist parties and a directing center. Daniil SOLOD, Minister to the Levant, reportedly requested a special survey of Communist activity in Syria and Lebanon for the Cominform in Belgrade, and preparations were allegedly made to set up communication channels with Belgrade via the Yugoslav Charge d'Affaires in Beirut. No supporting evidence has been received.

Far East

Rumors of various founding meetings for a Far Eastern Cominform in Harbin have not been substantiated, and as they all apparently originated with Nationalist sources, they can probably be written off as Kuomintang-planted propaganda. A New York Times dispatch from Nanking claimed, however,

that on 1 January 1948 over the Communist radio of North Shensi a Communist announcer read a Christmas speech made by the chairman of CP China, MAO-Tsetung, to the Central Committee in which he expressed his view that an organization similar to the Cominform should be established to co-ordinate the liberation movements of the billion people of the Far East.

Actual and Potential Scope of Cominform Action.

For the present, only two types of activity can be reliably ascribed to the European Cominform organization:

(a) The publication of the biweekly journal as a theoretical, policy-discussion, and propaganda organ, intended for all parties in the movement, but concentrating on European affairs. Western observers are inclined to underrate this propaganda activity as a rather simple-minded and unimportant front for what must be the more significant and less public actions of the Cominform, but it should be kept in mind that, for Communist leaders from the time of Lenin to the present, a central theoretical organ is a powerful organizational lever in promoting sound estimates and co-ordinated tactics.

(b) Although the mechanisms and degree of activity are not yet clear, the responsibility of the member parties of the Cominform to provide adequate "information" to the Belgrade editorial staff can be accepted as now being actively implemented. These contributions need involve no additional "intelligence" activity on the part of the individual parties, but more extended or more specialized party intelligence activity in the future cannot be ruled out.

The nature or extent of the "executive," "co-ordinating," or "action" responsibilities of the central Cominform organization cannot be estimated at this stage. Whatever activity of this type may now be going on, it is worth keeping the following points in mind:

(a) Such activity will be concentrated almost exclusively for some time on the current urgent situation in central Europe.

(b) Such activity will, with the customary elasticity of all Communist action organizations, be expanded or contracted as determined by the requirements of the situation.

(c) Any systematic organizational mechanism for carrying on such activity requires time and effort and trained personnel; an elaborate Comintern-type apparatus has not been developed in the past six months.

Against this perspective, the following types of action may potentially fall within the present and future responsibilities of the Cominform:

- (a) Formal executive meetings of party representatives to make policy and tactical decisions for member parties.
- (b) Provision for organizational assistance and control of member parties.
- (c) Development of clandestine communications channels.
- (d) Provision of advice and direction of paramilitary or revolutionary activity.
- (e) Establishment of specialized training facilities.
- (f) Distribution of funds for special purposes.

It should be emphasized that although nearly all of these activities have been frequently ascribed to the Cominform, reliable evidence substantiating these allegations has not been obtained.

APPENDIX

Check List of Individuals Alleged to Have Cominform Functions or Relations*

ANASTASOFF, Mira

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslav Minister in Brussels, reported "Chief of Cominform" for Belgium.

AVSIC, Jaks, General

YUGOSLAVIA

Alleged Secretary General of Military Section of Cominform, in charge of organizing Communist cells in newly activated units of Italian army.

BARIC, Dranko

TRIESTE

Secretary General, CP, Free Territory Trieste.

Reported present at Poland meeting, September 1947, and alleged Trieste representative to Cominform.

BEKIER, Alexander

POLAND

First Secretary, Polish Embassy, Paris. Reported posted to Sofia with secret mission to assure Cominform liaison Warsaw-Belgrade.

CALAS

FRANCE

French CP Deputy, reported to have attended Cominform meeting in mid-January 1948.

CHARLANDJIEV

BULGARIA

Chancellor of Bulgarian Legation in Paris, reportedly taking reports on political situation in Western Europe to Cominform.

CLAESSENS, Robert (Bob)

BELGIUM

Communist lawyer in Antwerp, in contact with

persons in USA. Possible Cominform implication.

Strongly suspected of having been a leading member of a party group assigned to sabotage

Italian ships during Spanish Civil War and of

British and French ships at beginning of Second

World War. Following US addresses found during

clandestine search of subject's office:

1. Paul SCHLINTZ
1225 Lawrence Street
Emporia, Kansas, P.O.B. 634 x 2

* This list has been compiled from sources of varying reliability, and is meant to invite further checking for accuracy, confirmation and additional information.

2. LYNN
72 Yestmond Gardons
West Hartpool, P.O.B. 888 V 10
3. Joseph ELEFANT
1550 47th Street
Brooklyn 19, N.Y. P.O.B. 144 - D 14
4. Arnold VON HESSEN
Wallstreet, New York
POB 2829 - S 24

DE CONINCK

BELGIUM

Political Secretary/CC/CP Belgium. Reportedly made statement in January 1948 that plans were being made to establish a contact center in Antwerp to handle communication and financial transfers between CP's of Western Hemisphere and Western Europe. Possible Cominform implications.

DENES, (FNU)

HUNGARY

Reported as Hungarian representative of Cominform, arriving in Switzerland on a Cominform mission, 10 October 1947, living Pension Elisa, 19 Rue Chantepoulet, Geneva. Hungarian Army officer, taken Russian prisoner in 1941. After liberation made director of information for Hungarian radio.

HADJIBEGOVICH, Smajo

YUGOSLAVIA

Vice Consul, Yugoslav Legation, Beirut.
Alleged liaison for Cominform in Middle East.

HADJIVASILIOU

GREECE

Allegedly instructed by ZACHARIADES on Cominform orders to form intelligence bureau/
KKE working for Cominform.

JAKSE, Ijuban

YUGOSLAVIA

Member of Yugoslav Legation, Switzerland,
allegedly working for Cominform.

KAISARIDES

GREECE

Reported as Member of Permanent KKE Committee attached to Cominform.

KARDELJ, Edvard

YUGOSLAVIA

Reported "Organizational Secretary of Cominform."
CP Yugoslavia representative at founding meeting
in Poland.

KOKKALES, Petros, Professor

GREECE

Reported as Member of permanent KKE Committee
attached to Cominform.

KRAMINOV, Daniel Fedorovich

USSR

Alleged Editor of English version of Cominform
Journal For a Lasting Peace, for a People's
Democracy! Born 25 December 1910, Kursk. War
correspondent with Allied Forces in North Africa
and Western Europe. 5 November 1943 TASS repro-
sentative in UK. Traveled on Soviet passport
#19564, issued Moscow 25 February 1943. Left
UK 30 November 1945 for Moscow. TASS corres-
pondent War Crimes Nürnberg, 1946. 14 December
1947 arrived in London for CPM on new passport
#58953, issued Moscow 12 November 1947. Returned
Berlin, 18 December 1947. Author of The Second Front.

LEWEY, Samuel P.

AUSTRALIA

Australian delegate to UNESCO conference at
Mexico City, accused of having received a
passport in order to go to Belgrade Cominform
headquarters.

LOPICIC, Ilija

YUGOSLAVIA

In 1947, worked for IRO, Paris, allegedly on
clandestine Cominform mission. Since February
1948 works for UNESCO, Paris.

LONGO, Luigi

ITALY

According to Pravda, 21 October 1947, appointed
representative of CC/CP Italy to Cominform.

NASZKOWSKI, Marian, Colonel

POLAND

Chief of Polish Military Mission in Paris until
1947, then Polish Ambassador to USSR. Reportedly
visited Polish Embassy, Rome, in connection with
September 1947 meeting of Cominform.

PELLETIER, Pierre

FRANCE

Alleged liaison between French and Belgian CP's,
transmitting Cominform directives to Belgian CP.

POGASSI

TRIESTE

CP/Free Territory Trieste, slated to attend a
Cominform meeting in November 1947.

POKORNY, Herman, General

HUNGARY

Alleged "actual head" of Hungarian Cominform.
Czech origin. Served in Austrian Army during
World War I. Entered Hungarian Army in 1921.
In USSR during 1945 to 1946. Hungarian I.S.

POLITIS, G.

GREECE

Reported as member of permanent KKE Committee
attached to Cominform.

PORPHYROGENNIS, Miltiades

GREECE

Reported as member of permanent KKE Committee
attached to Cominform.

PUSTINEK, Imre

YUGOSLAVIA

Former Secretary General of Yugoslavia
Oslobodilacki Front. Reported Head of Comin-
form/Secretarial Department.

SEKOTO, Gerard

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Communist leader, reportedly intended to pass
from UK via France to Belgrade (December 1947).

SIMICH, Bojin

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslav Ambassador, Turkey. Allegedly slated for
appointment to important post in "Inspectorate
General of Cominform." Left for Belgrade
18 January 1948.

STAMATINA, Voutsara

GREECE

Reported assistant of HADJIVASILIOU (see above).

SZALL, Joseph

HUNGARY

Member of Hungarian Legation, Switzerland,
allegedly working for Cominform.

SZENTPETERI (FNU)

HUNGARY

Alleged Assistant of POKORNY, Herman (see
above). Hungarian I.S.

TOGLIATTI, Palmiro

ITALY

According to Pravda, 21 October 1947, appointed
representative of CC/CP Italy to Cominform.

Also reported as chief of "Western Branch" of
Cominform to be set up in Milan after 6th Congress
CP/Italy.

TZIMAS, Andreas

GREECE

Reported as Member of permanent KKE Committee
attached to Cominform.

VAKDU, Stefan, Major

?

Reportedly sent by Cominform to Athens in
February 1948 for better co-ordination of party
in Athens Area.

ZAMBONI

ITALY

Owner of Restaurant Russo, Via Anginti,
Florence, alleged safe house and meeting
place for Cominform agents coming from France
and other European countries to Italy.

ZAMROWSKI

POLAND

Slated to represent PPR at a Cominform
meeting, November 1947.